000 TO THE anthropologist, selective marriage systems, such as cross-cousin and parallel-cousin, are run-of-the-mill phenomena. But the anthropologist is used to dealing primarily with non-European peoples, living far from centers of civilization. To the sociologist brought up on European and American subject matter it is an event to discover a "primitive" system in operation only 250 miles from Rome, in the 20th century.

592 As our study of material culture made clear, the Gheg family, like that of the early Israelites, or of the Chinese of any period, is an economic institution. One household, consisting of a man, his wife or wives, his sons, unmarried daughters, and son's children, lives in a single house or group of houses, and all ordinarily work together. The most complicated tasks which confront them require the co-operation of such a group, but no more, except in rare events when neighboring kinsmen may be called in. Isolation and political insecurity enhance the frequency and strength of the mutual relations of the family members. In some of the tribes, notably Dukagin, these households number up to 30 or 40 persons; the Arabic word *meballa* (military camp) is used to designate them.

[462] A sex division of labor clearly separates the work of the women from that of the men. Each needs the other. A houseful of widows and unmarried women would be unthinkable, as would a house occupied by men alone. The family must be a balanced unit. If a man dies his place must be filled if possible; if a woman fails to bear children another must be found [842] who can. The family must continue, and since so many men are killed before they reach maturity, it must produce boys. The birth of girls is less important because they are not killed, and because they leave the family to get married.

582 For a number of very good reasons, it is considered desirable to obtain wives for one's sons from a distance. In the first place, if a

[127] [1] The principal source of this chapter is my own records. However, I also made use of Miss M. E.

582 boy were to marry a local girl, he might get in trouble with other local boys. Young men form attachments for the girls whom they see every day, and any feeling of rivalry in youth which was followed by such a marriage might continue the tension into manhood. The young men who live in one place must get along together as well as possible. Owing to economic pressure, all tensions run high, and tensions result in violence. Violence with one's immediate neighbors would be suicidal. Therefore it is best for fathers to arrange these matters well in advance, and to bring in new girls who have no local ties.

Then again, let us suppose that the marriage did not work well; that the bride was shy, disliked her husband, was slow to adjust herself to living with him, or resented her mother-in-law's interference. If her parents lived close at hand, she could run home and complain to her mother. Soon her father and brothers would be making trouble for her husband and his family. Any wise person can see that it is much better to bring the bride from a distance, and then if any trouble arises between the two kins, they will be too far separated to cross each other's paths very often.

Once a family has formed the habit of getting its wives from another group in a distant area, that habit is likely to continue. A man will go to his wife's brother and say, "Haven't you a daughter for my son?" and the thing is easily arranged, providing that the earlier marriage has been successful. This requires less effort than breaking the ice with an entirely new group of people, but at the same time it preserves the necessary distance. Of course, if the man's wife's family has no daughters available for his son, he can try their neighboring kinfolk, or some other family with which some of his cousins have worked out a similar arrangement. In this way 2 things are evened up; one does not give a girl away without some assurance of getting in return a wife for one's own son.

[127] Durham's publication of 1928, as well as material contained in a letter which she most kindly wrote me.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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A 342 [114] consideration the remarks of all other previous investigators, especially those of J. Von Hahn (1) and A. Haberlandt (2).

According to Nopcsa, the social status existing in Albania which, as Haberlandt remarked, has not changed since the medieval years, the lack of security, frequent revolutions and the systematic burning by the Turkish army of the houses of the fugitives from justice, contributed, before 1900, in bringing the housing situation to a very low level. Inhabitants of some mountainous regions of Albania (Sala, Kastrati), have stated that any relatively high buildings were considered as a novelty introduced into the country only before sixty years. According to Nopcsa, before the introduction of the two-storey house with a prostoon and of the Kula, the Albanians, who live in mountainous regions, the two-thirds of the country being at an altitude of over 1.000 meters, must have inhabited low huts, comprising one or two rooms at most and covered with hay or branches. Generally speaking, the evolution from the simpler forms of housing to the more composite ones has been very slow and toilsome in Albania, comparable to the slow process of Albanian civilisation.

A [133]

A [127]

Here below I shall try to consider the house of Northern Albania, studied by Nopcsa, and, as regards Middle Albania (3), I shall only refer to the little but verified information we have from von Hahn and Ekrem bei Vlora (4).

According to Nopcsa, we distinguish in Albania a) houses of temporary or semi-temporary and permanent character, and b) houses built of timber, of other organic material and of stone.

In Northern Albania we first see the most primitive forms of housing, such as the cave dwellings of the Cem valley with the Cruda tribe, which entirely correspond to the prehistoric shelters. Caves formed at the ends of the valley, were enclosed by stone

Y [342]

1) **J. G. von Hahn,** Albanische Studien. Jena 1853/54.

2) **A. Haberlandt,** Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Volkskunde von Montenegro, Albanien und Serbien. Zeitschrift für Oesterreichische Volkskunde, Ergänzungsband 23, Wien 1918 — Volkskunst der Balkanländer, Wien 1919.

A [171] 3) The area to the South of the Avlon gulf, as far as the Greek border is not examined in this book. This area is very wrongly referred to as Southern Albania in foreign surveys The houses of this region are those of North Epirus and their building style is purely Greek.

4) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** Aus Berat und vom Tomor. Tagebuchblätter (Zur Kunde d. Balkanh 13) Sarajevo 1911.